634 Badjawa is the center of Ngada.
Boawai is the center of Nageh.

622 Kraeng Ngambut is the successor to the dead Radja of Mangegarai, but has not yet been installed.

631 In Flores there are many kapitanschappen, for example, there are two in the town of Ende. Other regions may be divided into kapitanschappen under kapitan, or into landschappen under more important rulers.

124 In general I did not get much information from him. I will see Pastor Raats, a member of parliament from Flores. Perhaps the radjas who are here now are going on the same ship to Ende. And Soumokil will send a cable to Papakai, a friend of his and possibly a member of parliament or something similar.

Flores: Before I left Makassar on December 12, three days late because of a ship strike and general irregularity of KPM, I went to see Pastor Raats, a member of the parliament from Flores. He is Dutch. He gave me some information about locations and general facts concerning Flores, but I did not learn anything very specific from him.

634 Following this we spent a wasted day and then on Monday, at 5 P.M., we sailed on a small ship "Kaimana". Most of the Flores radjas who had been in Makassar for a radja conference were on board this ship. The Sikka radja, Dom Tomas da Silva, appeared to be a spoiled and rather impolite person similar to the Arompone. He had a large mustache and looked like a Black Portuguese. I saw a photo of him in Levij's office and will receive a copy later. It shows him in a remarkable satin moujik blouse of black and with a Portuguese gold helmet. He is shown standing between two long upright elephant tusks.
634 He is decked out with gold stuff. He appears to
● 578 be vain and could be troublesome, but I heard

634 that Flores is a hard place to be any kind of
578 a ruler in because of the feuds between chiefs
[648] and radjas of all grades. The Dutch complicated matters by changing land borders, putting favorites in offices instead of proper candidates, and altering the borders of petty states. Thus at one time Sikka was a much larger territory, but then Ende was made independent and after that Lio split off from it, and Ndona made a further split. The same thing happened in Flores as in Ambon formerly: the weaker chiefs were raised up and the stronger ones were lowered. Later on, in Roworeke, I heard much about this and how often after a split or a revision of frontiers or putting in an improper man, the people would rebel either passively or actively, and the Dutch would come and tie ropes around the people's necks and take them off to jail. I was told that whole populations might be thus taken in. Thus, one man said, the people finally became very much afraid and did not dare to disobey the rules of the government. Hence there are plenty of old scores and sores here. Now I understand why Riekerk said I must not get mixed up in the feuds of the Flores chiefs.

634 Anyway, there was also a Radja of Adonara on
142 board. He looked rather Ambonese, dark with wavy and almost kinky hair and a bony Papuan face. He was rather short too. He spoke a little English and seemed more intelligent than the others. This was a surprise as I have regarded Adonara as a really primitive area. The Radja of Larantuka, who the Controleur Amiens later told me was next to Sikka in power and prestige, seemed to be shy and dopy and rather moody. He has rather light skin and is very dolichocephalic with his head running to a kind of long cone in the rear. He has kinky hair which grows down on either side brow. The Radja

R

632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order
237 to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride
[436] price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces
[727] called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone because they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

773 from van Suchtelen,[1] but in general the same ele-
769 ments were present. However, he said, for example, that the girl was not really in the form of a lontar leaf but rather that she came wrapped in a leaf. He also said that Toni, one of the sisters, had no children; and Soru, the other, after having a child in Sikka who produced the ancestors of the radjas there, came to Ende and had children there who became the ancestors of the Ende radjas. Her Sikka husband was killed in Timor, and his name, Djau, was given to her Ende son. Thus from the start Ende and Sikka radjas have a common female ancestor. I can see that the myths here have many versions. The Java-Madjapahit stuff is definitely there. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja was quite enthusiastic in telling about these myths, and it always seemed that his ancestors figured largely.

778 I asked if they have a negri lama here, and
361 they at once pointed to the high hills behind both kampongs and said that they are located there. And on them, as in Ambon, are the batu pemali! The Dutch forced them to move to the lowlands as they did in Ambon. Evidently they go to these places from time to time, and I must find out if feasts are linked with them. They
● [578] said there is no real open conflict between the new and the old religions.

535 They said that there are still plenty of the old dances and old adat costumes here. They will put on this ceremonial dress for photographing later.

764 I asked about funerals and they said that the
565 nobles used to be cocooned on a tree branch (not on the trunk, as Körner[2] says for Rea Ndona) until
[231] they rotted. Then there was a great feast with the killing of many buffalo, and the bones and skulls of the deceased were taken and cleaned and put in a chest which was then put in the slab-
[177] covered cist tombs. The Dutch forbade the tree burial as unhygienic.

[2] See p. 21 of Körner & p. 189 of Elbert as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst

R

778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.

736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

342 Then we went back to the kapitan's house and thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibod and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best house area. The secretary went to his section, Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.

634
621
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again [181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

621 R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is
178 patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
578 material culture and in level of living the young
561 people are not much different from the old. They do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

344 The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
217 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
124 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor. In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

R

000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Before the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

[178]

773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

797 177 [533] sang a few, and they are quite good. He says the Gregorian chants are liked by the people here as they are similar to theirs. Perhaps both are primitive. Also they like marches. Then too, said the priest here, on Christmas they retell the old story, saying that the shepherds brought mangos, bananas, and other native fruits to the manger. I think he said he has them bring such fruits to the church manger. They interfere as little as possible with the old practices. An old pageant concerning cosmogony and the descent of man has been kept, but they put in Adam and Eve and Sem, etc., in place of the native figures. As Kattenburg rightly remarked, it is a question as to whether they are adjusting native religion to Catholicism or Catholicism to native religion.

797 177 578 [197] Later, in the Larantuka mission headquarters, the priest said there was much argument among the priests whether this is right. Krol, however, is on the native side. He says, for example, that if they had hymns in Malay the old folk would never come to church. On hearing their own language, however, they come in and sit in the rear. This is an interesting reversal of the methods employed by the Protestants in Ambon, and Krol could see this. Protestantism does not compromise. The hymns are in Malay and are simply Dutch. They will take nothing from the old religion and they refuse to compromise. The priest said that the Catholic method is a matter of tactics, and I thought, "Here is the Jesuit view of an end justifying the means." Anyway, here the old is intermeshed with the new, and is gradually weeded out. In Ambon the two are kept separate, and there is a conflict between the adat and the agama lama, and Protestantism. This is not to say that there is no conflict here, and I think there is more than meets the eye. But the difference in method is notable.

000 notable.

797 177 346 [614] The church in Riangkamiè is built with reference to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin, Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the rule used: anything of a social nature is all right, but if it is of a religious nature and related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc., Catholicism won't take it. This is like the [171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the Protestants will let the Christians go to these social rites but not to the great exorcism rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed to go to the old rites on the nama in front of the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is hard for the folk here to see the difference, and they tend to regard these retained aspects of paganism as full paganism because they are symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 178 243 796 He told much that was interesting. There is in paganism here a need for a girl to be the rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter[1] tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs insisted in one kampong that at least one girl should not be converted, as at least one is needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to have something vital allowed to remain. "Give us one only," they ask. He said it is true that just about all of the young people are Catholic, but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] Wa Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there are few, but very few young people who are pagan.

●578 411 He told us about a war in which a man was killed yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba and Waibalun and the police had to stop it. They fight these wars all the time, with bow and spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not 511 [578] because they were hungry and need land. And hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He denied this, but I think it is true, especially

[1][See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.
797 The mission headquarters has a large building
346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks
[792] Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof, are easier to keep clean and are better in general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the kampong, and even fewer move out of or into the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here. There is no telegraph. There is no mail service. There is no postman. The priest has a battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië. Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few people have much knowledge about the world. This is really the lowest place I have been in yet. Most of the people are strongly attached to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

114 Wae
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

243 where around the earthen plaza there are corn
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive. Every-

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
●578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

634 into the hills with their Christian and pagan
166 relatives and leave the lower lands for the
361 Mohammedans.

I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat
632 and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja,
634 who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja,
771 may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule
578 here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers
[771] that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he
829 is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

000 R story.

829 186 People here all know the arrangement of the kampong, and maybe thirty per cent know the general arrangement of the kampongs in Rewarangga. Perhaps only five per cent know the general arrangement of Flores. They have heard of the radjas, but they know little about where they come from. For example, it is not known where Sikka is or what kind of a place it is. Perhaps only one per cent know very much about the arrangement of Indonesia, geographically. These are the ones who went to the Ndona normal school. Practically nothing is known of world geography. They know at least the names of Japan, Holland (the assistant thought that Holland was the second or third largest country in the world!), the United States, Australia, China. India was a bit beyond their ken, and they knew nothing of other countries. Perhaps they know something about or have heard the name of Russia a bit. They have also heard of Rome and Jerusalem.

They have no ideas about the population of Indonesia. This includes the guru, the assistant, and the kapitan.

People here simply like their own kampong and their own district. They have developed no local chauvinism and it simply does not exist. However, they scorn the mountaineer population of Lio. They do look down on them a bit. They say that they have never seen the big town. They know practically nothing about other tribes in Flores anyway. They also have a bit of scorn
● [578] for the mountain people in Rewarangga. There seems to be no feeling of enmity toward any other place, tribe, or Indonesian folk of any kind. There is no dissatisfaction evident in the village.

829 No one could draw a good map of the kampong, even though they know the arrangement. The

R

829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [246] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

R

721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually against the coastal folk on the north, that is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
● 578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still I note that they don't like to sleep all night outside the kampong. This is especially true of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the local kampong in the world: In just about every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of world countries in population, they do not know what to say (although a young boy knew that China was the largest), but at once the assistant and others get paper and copy down the exact ranking from me with figures. They evidently want to spring the question on other people and stick them. It does show a definite curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of the animals killed. And they eat together. They pledge that they will not war against each other and that they will show a certain degree of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I didn't find out if there are any survivals. I think there are, because the guru from Ndona said that it is easy for him to live in Waturoga as his kampong had a bond with it. In addition, he married in.

721 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
648 since then there have been no wars.
656

Wa

621 173 call the people from the Blakang Gunung region "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 721 346 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 621 173 829 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The assistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen, Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

Wae The Demon or
614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku
[769] of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

War

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
609 house to house getting the census material. He had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

We.

831 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they
614 may eat such food. This figures out to be
241 roughly about one half of the year. Some of
796 the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama
784 Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we
115 were finishing up the work he got a note tell-
124 ing him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

632 The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and
796 arrived while church services were being held. They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting
[621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 We asked about the bonds of friendship and
72) enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

War

578 721 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or perhaps the latter two should be reversed. Another cause was molesting a child if done by a neighboring kampong. There were also radja wars, in which the people served, but this was involved in high politics. Finally, there were also the early wars against the aborigines, the Padji folk.

721 346 796 782 The reasons for head-hunting were linked with the new korke (this is still a reason for the largest feast, when all kampongs come together. Nowadays, the feast for the new church takes over this function). When a new korke is built, if the six posts do not fit into the rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are not happy because they are in need of food, so they are pledged food. Formerly the people then went out and got a head and hung it in the korke. Then everything was all right. Note that nowadays at such rites they give food to the posts. For example, yesterday they smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke must have six posts.

346 769 343 241 The korke was the center of the war cult and the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were the center of the agricultural cult. The little kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called sebua.[1]

582 621 602 Relations between villages are kept up by marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole reason for such relations. This shows that genealogical relationship is nearly everything here. It shows also why descent is the basis for the whole organization of power, etc., and why marriage rules are so complex and strongly held to. There have even been marriage relations with Riang Kamië, although they have not been too pronounced.

476 582 602 621 Another reason for relations with other communities is work. That is, there is mutual aid

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202--Analyst]

We

582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

We

578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
177 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
773 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

War

000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

693 614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

We

186 This may come later. The truth seems to be that they are not "Flores-conscious" or "Larantuka-conscious."

186 798 Indeed, the only slight flare of criticism of any other section or group on Flores was Roy's statement that the Mohammedans cause a bit of trouble (but this seems to be a fear or perhaps a recognized resemblance to the previous troubles here; for example, see the history of the Mohammedan attacks on Christian settlements in Flores). They are singularly mild on all this, especially when contrasted with Ambon and the chronic "gripers" there.

648 609 578 681 The people here all knew that they were a subject group. Although they were not happy, there was no revolutionary spirit. There was some secret criticism, and everyone was sure that it would be better to be free. Roy said that one impressive thing was that the people disliked the coarse quality of the Dutch, and he said that there was too much of the "god verdomme" stuff. He imitated a coarse Dutchman swearing at the natives. And in the prewar period, all the people here would gladly have seen every single Dutchman leave, except the pastors. They liked the latter, but hated the officials. A sore point, of course, was that of taxation, but they also hated the summary way they were so easily put in jail. He keeps on saying how if a man tried to press his case with the Dutch, the latter just waved his hand and said, "To the bui with him."

648 578 609 When the guru had his famous case concerning the land, and the kepala kampong was put in jail because Roy and he would not sign the paper, twenty soldiers surrounded his house. The kampong people were so angry that they wanted to start a battle then and there. Roy dissuaded them, however, and then offered to pay a fine in order to release the kepala kampong. The

War

648 Dutch said there would be no release unless he
578 signed. He signed on a promise that the case
609 would be reheard, but then after he signed the Dutch refused to reopen the case. I get the idea that there was real hostility to the Dutch here, but that the people were so scared that there was no revolt. Indeed, this is what the Roworoke men said: at first the people resisted, but when many of them were sent to jail, they gave up. The Dutch came here late, and the rough stage of colonialism was a recent one. It came earlier elsewhere. At any rate, there is no sorrow at all here that the Dutch have gone. They really hated the Dutch except the pastors. The lack of politeness of the Dutch seems to have impressed the folk here very much. There were radjas, however, who sided with the Dutch, and in fact I think this was the previous line of the radja kedua family.

829 In regard to Holland, they all thought that
648 it was a very big and powerful place. This is why there was great muttering yesterday when I told of the population of Holland. They regarded the Queen as their Radja, because her head was on the money. This is an illustration of the primitive political views here. They also saw that the Larantuka radja was well under the Dutch, and his rank fell very far.

609 The pastors here are the great exception.
797 The people love them, and when Roy tries to ex-
758 plain why, the first thing he mentions is medi-
177 cine, and then comes the standard stuff in regard to religion. This is a good example of how religion rides in on the advanced culture's material strength. They indeed have more powerful "medicine." This kind of thing seems to have been the wedge. Then the schools would come in, etc. That is, primitive people can see
797 quickly the obvious advantages in material and
177 job terms, etc., of the outside superior culture,

Wa

religion, when he knew so much about the old ways and his ancestors were so important in it, then this new religion must be all right. (Here we see the old theme of converting the chiefs first. And all the magic aspect is clear too.) He admitted that if the nobles had been against Catholicism it would have been much more difficult (impossible? Note India, where the handicap of missions has been that most of the people converted have been untouchables; and the joy of the missions has been whenever they could snare a Brahmin.)

Roy says that they received Catholicism at first gladly and were interested and liked the medicine. Then there came trouble, however, when they saw that the Catholics were determined to wipe out the old things. Then came resignation. The trouble started when the Catholics began to win. Thus there were three phases, starting with the conversion of the first man, Guru Bala, in 1885:

(1) 1885--1912: period of amicable relations.

(2) 1912--1920: the pagan fight, and real conflict.

(3) 1920 to the present: the surrender and acceptance of the inevitable.

Bala was of the suku Lewonuhah.

Even now, the asli, the men of real noble descent, have the power and prestige. It is very hard, indeed impossible, for a commoner, no matter how clever he may be, to bring in alien things. If a commoner tried he would be killed. If he is a noble, he will find things easier, but he too had better be careful, for if he is a "trouble maker" he too might be thrown out (killed?).

In Wailolong the first Christian was Pulo, converted by Bala in 1890. Conversions were slower here than in Leloba, and paganism still holds on. Because it was slower there, Roy says

War

797 that there was less open conflict than in Leloba.
798 There was a chance to mix the pagan with the new
177 and develop a syncretism. In Leloba it was a
184 life and death struggle, and indeed it was, as
●578 the issue shows, a showdown. Perhaps Roy refused to compromise. This is a very interesting contrast. They had their fight out in Leloba and gave up paganism, while Wailolong held onto a little of the old. Indeed, he says that the Catholics in Wailolong do many of the pagan rites today, whereas the Catholics of Leloba have no ceremonies left to participate in.

[665] Since there are no political parties here,
797 and the real issue in Wailolong now is religion,
177 since all depends on it, I went right back to
798 the struggle on this point too. The leader of
578 the Catholics in Wailolong is the guru from Bama. His outside origin is a handicap. (I am just about sure that Roy is the main man to destroy paganism in Leloba. He was the perfect man for the job.) The leader of the pagans is Blawa, the kelake of one of the Datong ama. He is the one who shares the office with the legitimate kelake, Doeng, who is less able to do so. The Radja tuan of this head suku is not so eloquent, and so Blawa is the center of resistance. I asked if he got along all right with the guru
[181] and with Roy, and he said yes. Again the mild-
[152] ness of the folk stands out, together with their tolerance. They simply do not show anger.

Anyway, the pagans, even Blawa, have given up. Their only struggle is over little things (please let us have at least one little girl for a tuno wudjo!). They just try to hold on, like their last gasp. They are going down the road to death, and after them the pagans will be eclipsed. It is dramatic.

166 The only people who go away from here usually
484 go to jail, as Roy says. This is the only trip they make.

We

	Male	Female	
Watuwiti	127	124	
Mudakaputu	128	123	
Laneda	143	167	
Riang Kanale	107	114	
Lewohala	286	285	
Riang Kamië	430	427	
Wailolong	290	288	
Leloba	272	298	
Totals	1783	1823	3606

The Christians then totaled 1973.

Ili Mandiri is at an elevation of 1501 meters, the highest around here.

Wailolong intermarries with all of the other seven kampongs, a bit more with those which are near than with those which are farther away. During the period after the Dutch entered (1912) there were practically no marriages with Leloba, because Wailolong was sore that Roy's father would not fight the Dutch. (The present enmity of Roy against the Dutch may be delayed reaction to this.) Since then, there has been more intermarriage, but extra-kampong marriage is relatively rare. Roy estimates that not more than ten per cent of the cases are extra-kampong marriages. This holds for both sexes.

If a man lives matrilocally (which is optional if no bride price is paid, or if the bride price is paid only in part), he keeps the privileges he has in his own kampong, but he works for his food with his father-in-law in the latter's kampong.

If the bride price is not paid, he may live in either kampong, and this is merely something which has to be agreed upon. Roy says that about half of such marriages follow patrilocal residence and about half matrilocal residence.

R

462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he lets it be known that he will lend it, and he does so at interest. People seldom borrow more than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will lend only if the borrower has some form of security, for example, a gold decoration. He charges the same rate. There were and are no government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6 and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong. They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
● 578 The radja has always been here as a post. There have been changes in the borders too. Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family lives near the bridge but no longer has the post. (All over Flores there must be these fragments of old-time ruling families, and there is a great deal of potential trouble here unless the whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

R

000 does not amount to much.

178 When new things first came in there were
● 578 certain troubles, but now most of that is over. Nowadays when the old men get drunk they flare up about the old days, but otherwise they keep quiet.

166 The next day the kapitan said that the young men are now starting to talk about going off and becoming sailors or policemen. He has discussed this with the Radja, because he fears that if this goes on too much, the district will be drained of its present population (!). The Radja told him that he would allow only police trainees to leave. Does this mean that the people here have no freedom of movement? Perhaps an impelling factor in this talk is that the kapitan's younger brother recently left here after a vacation. He is a policeman and is being transferred to Sumba. It would take only a few examples to get the wanderlust going perhaps.

601 After a terrific struggle I got the kin terms, and as closely as I can figure them out they go as follows:

father	baba
father's brother	baba susu
father's sister	no'o
father's brother's son	ari, ka'e (male speaking); nara (woman speaking)
father's brother's daughter	veta (man speaking); ari, ka'e (woman speaking)
father's sister's son	edja (man speaking); aki (woman speaking)
father's sister's daughter	veta (man speaking); ipa (woman speaking)

R

587 moved out of the girl's house, a man must pay another price for her sister. If they have not yet moved out (for example, the guru still lives in the house of his wife's father, the head guru), no bride price is paid, and the father gives a sister free.

601 587 835 Now, note the beauty of the kinship terms here. I had wondered why the terms ari and ka'e were restricted to: brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), wife's sister (man speaking), husband's brother (woman speaking), brother's wife (man speaking), and sister's husband (woman speaking). The fact is that the terms mean, not really sibling, but these relations and these linkages only. The connotation is that one can marry his or her ari or ka'e, while the real brother and sister terms (nara, veta) mean a marriage taboo. Thus the levirate and sororate are beautifully reflected in these terms. Where the terms are used for persons of the same sex, they cause no trouble, because marriage here is impossible anyway. Perhaps the truth is that they mean brother and sister, in a way, but since they have to have other terms to indicate ones who cannot be married, they have also the terms nara and veta. The edja and ipa terms, the other ones for cousins, make no difference, as they also are used for persons of the same sex.

842 578 181 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is. They are sad if they have only a few children. They like children of both sexes for different reasons. Boys are good to work in the gardens (and can develop new land) and are good in standing up for their father (a relic of the old war days, but even now in an argument it is good to have a big gang, and as they say, "You can trust only your

R

842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

We

601 does so. So much for the kinship system.

Then, incidentally, he said that an indis-
273 pensable item at each sacrifice must be palm
769 wine (tuak). Even if they have to travel for
778 some distance to get some (and it is hard to get in the Veol area, as not much is made locally), they must do so; and the reason is that the stone, which is the central point of all rites, must have a libation poured over it. The ancestors are explicitly called, and then the tuak is poured over the stone as though into the mouth of a person which the stone is. Thus I think these stones are the ancestors. They are real idols. Note that the Vatu Veol, and the removed Ine Amba too, are, (or were) in human form. I think that perhaps the popularity of statues in Java after the Hindu influx may have been due to the pre-existence of human form stone images. The point is, in this libation business, the stones are treated as though they were really human.

In regard to the mother's brother's daughter
582 or tungku marriage, this was formerly required,
578 at least for one son. He might be forced
835 brutally into such a marriage if he was reluc-
[753] tant. It should be the eldest son too. If this is not done, the family may be afflicted with illness. And it is wicked anyway. This rule still holds, although force is no longer used to back it up. A good case is that of the assistant himself. He didn't like his mother's brother's daughter, as he said, "she lived in the house" (what psychological overtones are there here?). So he refused, and married his wife. However, he has two other brothers, who are still unmarried, and his whole family is watching anxiously until one of them marries the mother's brother's daughter. He says that they talk about this all the time. It is true that they are still pagan. His father indeed

We

582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
●578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get along almost anywhere in the world, whose father is a completely benighted heathen. He says that the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
835 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)

582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[189] pensation), but the priests do not like it at all. However, he saw the point when I said that after all it was only one brother in a family who had to get the dispensation, and so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's brother's daughter marriage, the whole social organization falls apart, as this is the keystone all over Flores (and all through this part of Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown of all the good rules, from the Catholic viewpoint. However, perhaps the reason is more realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation up and three generation down dodge to get a classificatory mother's brother's daughter and keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
591 into some trouble. But before that I note that No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's sister. She may well be already spoken for and even paid for, for the son of the latter. There is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs of outside origin in the case of both spouses (46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

We

567 178 565 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-like services.

The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] 565 565 614 567 [173] In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius says the people here regard them as aliens (as indeed they are in this area, especially considering the localism of "nationalism" here). And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 567 621 614 (1) There are kampongs in which all the "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example, kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be included among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

We

565 621 174 177 the old adat:

(1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.

(2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and Pongkor.

177 565 621 634 [174] Thus the locals may have been merely under a double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It may be that it was like the Madjapahit situation in outlying areas: the local princes were partly to a largely degree independent and oppressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here), and the proconsuls of the central government got what they could for the sultan (the dalu). The question remains, whence the dalu? And I must find out whether the dalu family trees are the same as those of the kraeng. Note, incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimilation of rule here. There is the radja, whose supporters would be the kraeng scattered all over (and I heard the first day that "there are a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjantjar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be one. Now comes the question whether the dalu [578] work with the radja, or are still a bit independent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days (and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And what of the gelarang? Are they more for the radja or for the dalu? Or are there no tensions at all?

578 634 565 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit drunk during the feast told us that he would advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc. My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy here. Why? There seems to be no real exploitation any more, but perhaps there is a remembered resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

We

565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance for elective democracy here, because (1) the old adat system lives, and its class levels are minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima rule (and the assistant insists that they are of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is even more remarkable here, and the radja is very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps in twenty years there would be no more radjas in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppression has been too recent. It will take a little time for the revolution, if any, to get going in Flores.

565 The kraeng said, when I asked if there was
614 any difference in looks between the classes,
[576] that it was a matter of manners (he said it was a matter of with whom one associates) and money. But he said that you can tell by the manners. I get a definite impression that the kraeng are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then tried to get at the class business via the clans. I got this, which jibes with the kampongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units, although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u, e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko' pitu va'u.

We.

778 high hill, which is otherwise bare, like most
776 of the land here. It is taboo, as special
824 darat dwell here. And now I see many such sacred groves in the hills, carefully left when the land was cleared. It is as though they have to leave places here and there for the darat whose trees have been largely cut away. One has to watch out for feelings of the spirits always. The assistant also uses the word roro for spirits in general.

346 As the big timbers are carried in, the bear-
776 ers sing all the time, moving about slowly, and
533 telling the setan not to sit on the timber and
824 make it heavy. A small girl, elaborately dressed, sits on the timber, showing the setan that someone is already sitting there, so that they won't. A flag is set on the timber (now usually a merdeka, red and white flag) to show the kampong folk from two to three kilometers away that they are coming. In the kampong, they begin to beat gongs and drums "to receive the wood" into the kampong. They may not be quiet as the wood enters. There is much singing, etc.

[335] While the carpenters are at work with modern tools on the house, the gongs and drums are beaten constantly (technology and adat). There has been trouble here in Tjantjar with the tukang from Ruteng. The timbers were already set
•[578] when an argument started over the contract, etc. Tempers rose, and the carpenters picked up their tools and left for Ruteng. I saw them on the road two days ago. Now the kampong folk are worried stiff because there lies the wood and there is the wood in the half-finished house, and nothing is being done. The wood may get impatient or angry, and if so they will always have trouble with the house. And this is important, as it is the main house, the cult house,
[753] of the kampong. Also, if the wood gets angry, there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.

342 178 in Tjantjar they use some nails, but also many wooden pegs; perhaps the nails are expensive and hard to get).

Now comes the last stage, when the rectangular houses are coming in all over. A certain pastor went around showing how to build the rectangular type houses, and now everyone follows his model exactly. They do not know any variations! Until 1948 all houses in the Veol--Ndung area were round. Now there are only three left, and Number 11 is to be torn down this month, and they intend to tear down Number 8 soon. In the old days, and now, a round house lasted only ten years, anyway.

166 178 [342] Usually, when they build a new house the whole population of the old one moves out and into the new one en masse. This took place every ten years. They seldom move from the kampong. An exception was the mass move of Tjepang to Tjantjar twenty years ago.

In the past fifty years the only movement he knows of was the Tjepang one. Before this there were many moves out of Veol, and Veol [614] va'u kampongs are found all over the area, as well as families from Veol. But this was all before fifty years ago.

The places to which Veol folk have moved are all in Manggarai, and only in the two or three nearby dalu or gelarang, for example Rahong and Tjibal.

166 ●578 Families move because of four causes, according to the assistant: (1) arguments over whose pigs are using the troughs and when, (2) arguments over pigs getting into gardens, whereupon the pig would be cut (like the buffalo I saw yesterday), (3) arguments between women over the use of pestles, and (4) marriages of men who went to live with their wives, taking the Veol name with them. Thus it seems that the main cause or causes are arguments, and they

We

166
578 affect mainly the younger branches of panga. The older ones are too important to leave.

[592] Most of the people who leave go as households, except for the men who marry out.

166
574
621
527 Those who leave never come back, as far as the assistant knows, but there have been returnees in other kampongs. They do come back, however, for the big feasts in the mother kampong. There are five kinds of festive returnees: (1) for kampongs in the gelarang Veol, all must come to Veol for the big feast, and so must Veol go to the tjabang kampong feasts. (2) for kampongs in the dalu Rahong, but in other gelarang, if there is a big feast, a delegation must be sent to the mother kampong, and vice versa. These kampongs have their own tuan tanah in the new Veol kampongs, whereas type (1) kampongs have only a tjabang tuan tanah. (3a) For kampongs outside the dalu Rahong, they may come if they want to, but they need not do so, and vice versa. They have their own tuan tanah. (3b) Isolated Veol families which live in kampongs among other va'u always come back, as otherwise there is no ritual life for them in relation to the ancestors, etc. (4) The Ndung and Veol folk, because they are nearby and of the same va'u, always come to each other's big feasts. (5) The Ndung area kampongs (Ndung gelarang) come to the Ndung feasts. Any of them may come to the Veol feasts too, and vice versa. The pattern in the gelarang Ndung is not so complex, as it is actually a branch of Veol.

527
574
756 The big feasts so treated are: (1) "New Year" which comes in November or December. It is not on any set day, but takes place when the gardens are all set and growing. The work is then over; (2) the building of a tuan tanah house; (3) a "buffalo feast," i.e., a cleansing of the kampong, a time decided by one of mbako, who decides that

We

166 the ancestors that they are back, and to offer
574 something to all the relatives who have died
769 since they went away. This applies to an individual who has been away for a long time and at some distance. If a family departed in anger and with hot words, they must give a feast on their return with the sacrifice of an animal "to clean off the dirty talk."

166 They like to see people return, because they always like to see their kampong and va'u increase in population.

When they move they take with them movables, cattle, etc. If they have relatives in the new kampong, they are received easily. It is notable that the assistant says the ones who leave are always the younger branches, and so they have no status to lose. As for land, the situation is not too clear. I suppose they lose it.

166 If they are merely moving to some nearby
● 578 kampong, for example, within the same dalu,
614 there is little opposition. If it is within
769 Manggarai, it is not so bad. But if there is a desire to move really far off, there is great trouble, and a youth would probably have to sneak away. The assistant helped a brother of his to sneak off to become a soldier (I think). They try every means to keep them home. All relatives try hard in this. If someone leaves anyway, they have a feast and there is much mourning. The bonds are very close and strong.

One of the main reasons for this family resistance to leavers is because they do not want to have the population of the family, panga, or va'u lessened. There is a great fear of depleting the strength of these units. No greater catastrophe can take place than to become extinct. And I found a beautiful ancestor cult reason on the part of the old. The assistant says that the father mournfully asks, "Who

Wa

166 578 614 769 will give me food when I am dead?" This is exactly like the ancestor cult of China, in that there must be descendants to make sacrifices for the soul of the deceased. And there is the same mournful asking by a pagan father whose sons turn to Christianity and therefore probably will not keep up the rites for the dead ancestors: "Who will feed me after I am dead?"

776 361 778 [166] This led to a discussion in regard to the guardian spirit of the kampong. Each kampong has such a re, called naga, and its abode is in the stone heap and the tree thereon in the pusat of the kampong. This is called the tjompang. If there is a great deal of trouble, e.g., illness, a succession of bad crops, etc., [756] the mbako may say that the naga is no longer any good, and if all the people so agree, the whole kampong is moved en masse. When this happens, the old tjompang and tree are left there in the old place and are abandoned. Thus it happens that a naga which for a long time has been benevolent may turn to be malevolent. This may be because the people have not pleased him, or just because he got wicked. He is no longer a good naga, and the people had better get out and get a new place and a new naga (how do they get a new naga? There is a very big feast for a new kampong, so perhaps a new naga is then installed).

Veol moved about two to three generations ago from the place noted on the map (c) on higher ground above the vatu Veol. I thought it was strange that the stone was there, outside of Veol and above Ndung, and also strange that the highest spot was empty. This is where Veol used to be, but the naga became so bad that Veol was moved about one hundred meters below. Also, I noted when I first entered that the tree was small, and when I asked why, they said it was

We

425 624 565 634 661 stand with the families and get a share, like any ordinary person? This led to the usual wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he came through. The truth is that the kraeng don't get their land directly, but rather, when a new garden is laid out, the radja just says, I'll take this part. It may be a quarter or even half of the pie. And he pays nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so requisitioned to members of "his family," of whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay nothing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a real burden, and is at least a racket. I can see where, if there is enough open land, a kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces; but the chiseling evidently comes from the fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out land after a lot of hard work has been done on it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the Radja work together (though this seems to be a strange combination, it might take place in Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kottang of the state), and as soon as the poor folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan [578] tanah in here because he naturally hates the tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever paganism is left. This is why I'd like to know here whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different breed") or whether he grudgingly gives what he must.

We.

624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 ●578 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

We

621 are established or where the people have mar-
614 riage relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu Tjibal, and these are closer than the other non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even though a family has lived for a long time in another kampong and has few close acquaintances any more in the old kampong, the bond is still closer than with the neighbors in the kampong
[571] of residence. This shows that residence is less important here than blood. Still, as propinquity makes for marriages, there is a tendency for a family to establish new marriage relations in the place of residence. Thus it is either the consanguineal or the affinal group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.
578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help. They could also call on the vina-rona families, i.e., the affinal relatives. These might refuse, however.

Once there was a war between two places (and usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity remained between these two places. Thus the wars were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu, not kampong against kampong, although they might start that way. And in this area, most of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile Bima lost. On the border there were many wars against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

We

721 kor, e.g., Ruteng and Tjibal. But Rahong never
614 resisted Todo and Pongkor. The Dutch fought
578 here (near the pemali grove along the road).
The panglima prang who led this fight is still living.

Va'u Veol had no traditional enemy, but might join in and help on one side or the other in a war.

There were many wars between the dalu that these kampongs entered. In other regions there were plenty of wars between va'u ("non-dalu wars") but there was not much of this here. These were caused because of borders, molesting fellows, etc. Dalu wars were over borders mainly, but might be for other reasons. The only big wars here were between the dalu. And each kampong had to send just about all of its adult men to fight in these dalu wars.

411 The weapons used consisted of spears, long knives, and shields. They did not use the bow until a few came in very recently. They had no blowguns, but recently a few have come in for hunting birds, although they use no poison darts. Shields were round or rectangular, always of rattan. Helmets were also made of
[714] rattan. Their war clothes were fancy. Feathers were placed on the helmets.

There was no head-hunting, but, for revenge,
266 they drank a little blood. However, there was
721 no war cannibalism. (Note the many things which are lacking in Manggarai which are usually found elsewhere in Indonesia.)

Still, even now from time to time there comes
721 a rumor that men are coming who will chop off their heads. These people are rumored to be coming from outside. It looks like the left-overs of a memory of an old head-hunting experience, perhaps felt from the outside.

[608] There are no traditional alliances between
721 clans or kampongs of the pela sort. But there
578
614

We

721 578 614 were traditional enmities to some extent between dalu. For example, Ruteng was against Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 614 602 [423] There are definite borders here, and the people are quite sensitive about them. These exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs. They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 582 However, I get nowhere with the regular marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 789 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here, and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

871 185 old people have been heard to say that they wished they were young again so that they could go to school. "We didn't have these advantages in my day."

871 212 There is no trouble between the educated and the uneducated. Until recently there was no conflict between the illiterate older people [578] and the schooled young. Of course, they have only three grades anyway, but in all events they haven't had the problem of the stuck up children at all. There is no disobedience. There are still a few dalu and kepala kampongs who are illiterate, but this is becoming less and less so all the time. And they have assistants who help them.

The young do not teach the old here. The literacy campaign of the East Indonesian government failed here as everywhere. It started and then stopped. (Why learn to read when there is nothing to read? Why learn to write when no one writes? This is my interpretation.)

[787] [658] The schools are run by the mission, but the government pays all of the expenses except for what the mission wants to give, for example, books. This is a system found all over Flores, I think. Mission schools are paid for by the government. The whole administration is carried out by the mission.

874 797 There is not a single person from here who has gone to seminary. After the six grades the gurus go to OVO (Opleidingsschool voor Volksonderwijzers), a two year course at the mission in Ruteng. There is also a trade school at the Ruteng mission. The trade school gurus must go to a two year course in Ende Ambachtsschool, in the mission there, after they have finished six grades. There is no other available special education.

614 The assistant worked until midnight getting information for the outline in Veol and Ndung,

We

771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a Catholic who lives in a house with the little hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf is over their heads, and I wonder if they do not give offerings. If I had the time I would like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is that most of them do not worry too much about orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru agama for each kampong, but these are twins. Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu. Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjantjar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young through the school. There are no cases of children converting their parents. There are relatively few direct adult converts. The school does the trick. A convert must first be a catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
● 578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here there is a real problem, as the heir apparent of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The assistant says van Bekkum[1] has discussed what should be done with him. Then too there is the matter of polygamy, which is very strong here. Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism comes from men or women who, because of a plural marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensation, according to Oudehand's version[2]) for this. This is a head-on conflict, especially because they desire so many children. The polygamists

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

We
797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitter-
578 ly against the church. Perhaps here Mohamme-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
578 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

We

162 Here in Veol the Christians and pagans are also about fifty-fifty. It is notable that here in Veol many of the young people are still pagan. There is plenty of paganism still, and the Catholics, I am sure, are largely pagan. The
●[578] main conflict is over polygyny. But there is also plenty of general friction. It is especially bad if a man has a barren wife. He must remarry. Who will feed him when he is dead? Also, what about the ceremonies? It is all right for the Catholics to say that Christians may attend community rites, if they do not pray in pagan style, but what will happen if all of them turn Catholic? Who will be there to do the rites?

797 Note also that the last of the rites means
769 the end of relations with the thousands of dead
715 inhabitants of the kampong. The Catholics try
788 to fix this up. For example, Roy tried to do this by saying that they are probably not around the graves but have flown off to heaven. But this is revolutionary, and changes the whole character of the settlement into a kind of "empty" place, with only living persons living in it. He told how his father's father, when his father was a boy and the guru tried to convert him, had ordered the boy not to change. And the boy didn't. He now has four wives, one of whom is the assistant's mother. Note the
[771] similarity with Toradja Protestant rules. Catholics may not pray in pagan style and may not hold private rites, and they may not officiate at the rites, but they may attend.

865 Note: At the Sunday singing performance I was impressed by the good behavior of the children. This always seems to be true here in Indonesia. They are amazingly unmischievous. The guru says that almost never is there a disciplinary problem. I can see this all over. The children are adults really while still very

F 114 C 634 han, which had no mandur or kitchen or bed. I set up a camp bed with the help of the Radja of Kolaka (who was waiting for a Makassar ship with his family after six months banishment in Ruteng by the Dutch) and his assistant. I then went to the dalu's house where Degens worked for awhile. Then I had lunch with the dalu, a sullen young man, whose still living grandfather is the last radja naib of Reo.

F 634 565 632 598 The dalu was bitter about the Radja of Manggarai. He says that he should be radja, but that the mission put in a Catholic. He says that next to him the proper royal house is Tjibal, which is descended from Daeng Tamema of Reo. The proper royal house is not Todo, because Todo was under Bima only, and the Radja is only a dalu subordinate. He also said that his territory was very small, because the Catholics do not like Mohammedans, nor did the Dutch. Only he, the dalu of Pota, and the dalu of a couple of other coastal places are Mohammedan here. He told me a long story about the past, and why his line is the right one. He also said that the Do Donggo are descendants of Manggarai slaves in Sumbawa. He said that Reo, being Mohammedan, was not favored by the schools. In general, he is quite sore.

C 634 565 648 The Radja is a good man, and fed me. He told me a lot about the Celebes radjas returning now to Celebes after exile by the Dutch. He doesn't want to go back to Kolaka, because he said one would get "bodo" if one stayed there. He is traveling on government expense. He will seek an office job in Makassar. Kolaka and Kendari (Laiwui) are under Luwu.

F 505 On the last morning, part of the plaster wall fell down, and I am glad to be getting away. After watching the loading of animals all day at the beach, I got onto a float with the jeep (first loading of a car ever to take place in

1[i.e., in Reo --Analyst]